1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed permanently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
773 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars
775 to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wursuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *putkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
776 went one day to their dairy at Tïkïrs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoinörtpet*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimand reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and
436 among the more recent coins were included two Japanese
177 yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral
372 of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood
766 (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three
775 times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"Kedr	*tütth*	*tüzâr*	*ünd*	*tirk*	*tükitth*	*tüti."*
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tüzâr tükitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

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were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed and redistributed to those who had given them. The people told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face downwards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

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adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *mannokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

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and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *ovilnikârz*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

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the same way. At the top of the hill there is a spot at which every Toda salutes (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. 775

The two paths meet again at a stone called Nidzmûtkârs (hot knock stone). When the dead Todas reach this stone they knock on it, and in so doing lose all their love of this world. They proceed and reach the stone called Panîpikârs, on which also they knock, and by so doing lose all their diseases and become strong again, so that they are sound and vigorous when they reach Amnòdr.

After knocking on Panîpikârs, the dead pass a wood called Katiârnpül, in which there is a tree called *main*, and as they go they make a cut on this tree with the *kafkati* or knife burnt with them, and Todas who pass by Katiârnpül on the day after a funeral have often seen the newly made cut on the *main* tree. For women there is another place in the wood called Patkadipem, and here the woman pounds with the *mask* burnt at her *asaramkedr*.

On proceeding the dead Todas come to a ravine and river called Püvûrkin, near Sisapara. Across this river there is a thread bridge, and those who have been bad Todas during life fall into the river and are bitten by leeches (*püv* or *püf*). The people who cross the thread bridge successfully go straight to Amnòdr, but those who fall are helped out of the river by the people of Padrmukhteir (crowd plain swamp), who belong to all tribes and live on the further bank of Püvûrkin. The people of Padrmukhteir may keep the offending Todas in their country for some time. The greater their offences, the longer are they kept, but all, however bad, reach Amnòdr sooner or later.

The following are the people who fall into Püvûrkin:—(*a*) the *karuinol*, selfish people; (*b*) the *kashtvainol*, jealous and grudging people; (*c*) the *kaspivainol*, those who have committed any offences against the dairy, whether *pali* or *poh*.

The danger of falling into Püvûrkin does not seem to have much influence on the people. It has been spoken of as the Toda Hell, but it is rather a mild variety of Purgatory, and only involves some discomfort and delay on the journey to the next world. The people of Kavidi in the Wainad may travel direct to Amnòdr without going over Püvûrkin at all,

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775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Tamadr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panipikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 763 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *koòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

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a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen.

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kazun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kazun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.[1] That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies.

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersamptpini*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be

[1] In Teinnir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kazun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kazun*.

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765 775 furnished if we supposed that the spirits of the dead are malignant and that the ceremony was postponed till after the spirit had set out on his journey to Amnòdr, but there are two objections to this explanation. If the Todas had had this in their minds, they would have said that the ceremony might not be performed while there was *kedr* among the Tartharol, *i.e.*, while the funeral ceremonies of a Tarthar man were still incomplete. For the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, however, it seems that a child has to wait till after a *marvainolkedr* even if there has been no recent death among the Tartharol. Further, if the proposed explanation had been correct, there is no reason why the *karvnol*, or day immediately after the funeral, should have been appointed for the ceremony. The fact that this day is prescribed points rather to some beneficial influence which it is hoped may emanate from the dead.

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buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neur-sülukars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

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Instead of adultery being regarded as

577 immoral, I rather suspected,[1] though I could not satisfy my-
837 self on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality
attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another.
775 One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to
the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging
people, and I believe this term includes those who would
in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce
court.

835 In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

[1] The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

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764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
778 magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1] but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons
764 which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
174 when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
178 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187–191.

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wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh.

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place.

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members.

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi.

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184 197 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 184 616 775 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 142 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it. When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 361 621 616 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives. 174

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1] 197 198

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas. 174 775

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance. 174 177 437

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement 101 361 174

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.'

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout*. They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled!

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâḍu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avap, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[1] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pil'i—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[1] See note 2 of Chapter V.

Z: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVIII.

often beneficent than the contrary. Hence their beliefs are pleasant rather than otherwise, and death is free from horrors.

Even when a man's breath has left his body, and the corpse yet remains with them—forming the most eventful episode in their experience—yet no power of generalising or abstract reasoning seems to come to their aid, to assist them in this their day of agony, to frame any sort of link between the expired spirit and the Spirit which rules the darkness, in whose bosom it has been lost to sight. Their practical experience forms the fuel, which their strong sense of *perpetuity*, fanned by the visible evidences of power in all nature, kindles into flame; dictating that the curious something which has just left that body—lying so senseless without it—must have gone somewhere. And where could it have gone, but to another place just like this? Other *Todas are there*: and they could not live without milk; *therefore* buffalos are there too!

'A high degree of education must be attained,' writes Mr. Baring-Gould, 'before the notion of annihilation can be apprehended.' Again: 'Let anyone try to imagine himself extinguished—his powers of thought, his feelings, his volitions, his perceptions broken short off—and he will see how extremely difficult is the task, and how incomplete his success.'[2]

I incline greatly to the belief that the firm faith in a future state, owes its *origin* more to the domestic feelings, strengthened by the strong conservative sense provided by the organ of Concentrativeness, than to Hope, which is ordinarily considered to be its stronghold. The first combination is that which eminently distinguishes the most primitive races, whilst Hope is a religious organ whose development betokens an advance from the primæval state. A very pretty illustration of my theory is contained in the following quotation from 'Guy Mannering,' taken from Mr. Baring-Gould's work: 'Whiles I think my puir bairn's dead,'

[2] Baring-Gould. 'The Origin of Religious Belief.'

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[3] very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred times till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.'

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost.

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness.

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowleage*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think!

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[3] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XVIII.

process of thought is little more than the instinctive stringing and restringing of those very few and very stale facts together. With a deeply domestic, excessively conservative and practical race, void of talent for generalisation, employed in working out its own problem; what could its theory of a future state be, than an exact copy of circumstances it had witnessed in this?

The self-consciousness to which I have ascribed one of the reasons for their viewing the future entirely without apprehension, appears to me to be an *intuitive but unobtrusive appreciation of the simplicity and harmlessness of their own natures:* unsensitive doubtless as to abstract right and wrong, but whose tendencies to the commission of crime are the very smallest; small indeed, in proportion to the inefficiency of their character, rather than in any ratio to moral qualities.

It is acknowledged that they commit without much remorse, as a matter almost of habit and nearly with impunity, acts which, with races that have long been exposed to the influence of a public opinion, are scouted as degraded though secret vices, but which the unrefined Toda sense does not censure as anything very heinous; rather as peccadillos punishable in a quiet way amongst themselves.

If all Toda society is unanimous in holding such acts as of small importance, where from such a race are we to meet a Toda of the unusual moral stature to consider himself alone criminal? Todas in addition to much real harmlessness of life are never troubled by moral scruples or remorseful feelings; such as would give their consciences trouble, leading to the hope of a purer future life, or one in which those who had escaped merited punishment for crimes committed in this world, would yet suffer hereafter.

If they have words for sin and hell, they have to all appearance, merely been adopted from the Hindus; the former perhaps in its milder sense, of a trespass, to supply a want, the latter to apply to other people. But Todas all go to amnôr.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXI.

It may be, that the bell is a religious symbol of the bell-god —konku dêr. (Note, that herds of cattle, ordinary village droves, never wear a bell.)

I was careful to ascertain if, as has been asserted, a priest superintended on these occasions.[1] My informant, the ex-pâlâl, told me, 'We—the pâlâl and kâvilâl—have no duties at a kêdu, nor do we receive presents after a death. If anyone has seen us at a funeral, it is because we want to know what is going on in the district, for we live such lonely lives. But we keep at a distance, because no one may touch us.'

What I have narrated, is a just description of funeral obsequies properly executed, and as indeed, so far as adherence to form goes, they are carried out to this day. But I have ascertained, without any doubt remaining in my own mind, the truth of what Dr. Shortt has written;[6] that old and barren cows are often slain at these funerals.[7] It was formerly the custom to despatch a considerable number of the deceased's own herd for his support in amnôr. But whether the rise in value of buffaloes, or any increase of relative poverty amongst the people, has rendered them loath to deprive the living of a valuable means of sustenance; or if the fact of the Governing Power having limited the slaughter, has demoralised their minds, are points which I cannot decide. The truth remains, that whilst still believing in the necessity for providing the deceased with nutriment, they practically lessen that reduced limit, by despatching what no one knows better than they do, is actually worthless.

This early step in civilisation is, then, a pace backwards —commercial gain, by moral loss.

On the morning after the bara-kêdu, before daybreak, the mantle containing the ashes is taken to the âthârê, at which the original cremation took place. Another buffalo is then killed—a male if for a Peiki or Pekkan: a female if for any of

[6] Shortt, 'Tribes on the Neilgherries.'

[7] See Chapter VII., where I write on the sources of nicknames.

[1] The bara kêdu, or second funeral — Analyst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the other three clans—and blood having been taken from the artery of one of the fore legs, at the point of junction with the body, it is sprinkled on the piece of skull preserved from cremation. Nothing is said at the time, and the Todas have no name for the ceremony beyond describing it as, bâkh nirrshk idu, or 'put the blood to the ashes.' The mantle and its contents are now completely burnt.[8]

CHAP. XXI.

In none of the ceremonies described, have I seen any active acknowledgment of the existence of a God.

The main object of the festivities appears to be to gratify a pious desire to further the material welfare of their friend in amnôr, and to bow him out of this world with ceremony and honour. The whole is a grave, practical affair, in which their natural fondness for a prolonged sensation, their domestic and also their wasteful dispositions are all thoroughly gratified. He has gone to amnôr. Send one or two cows at once, at time of death—with more, with plenty, to follow. They are as realistic in this matter as the ancient Britons, who used to give *post-obits* payable in the next world. When asked what became of infants who died, they said, 'Those who have gone before, take care of them.' Their little programme is cut and dry, and the people, harmless race, are quite comfortable in their belief.

If the hut erected for these obsequies was made for a woman, it is now burnt. If for a man, it is not touched.[9]

The Kotas remove the carcases.

[8] Mr. Metz very kindly gave me the information contained in this paragraph. I believe it likely that the personal property; flute, bow and arrows, are also burnt at this time, and not prior to the festivities. The circumstances narrated are correct, though perhaps their sequence is not so. It is not easy to obtain absolutely reliable information from these interested people: and I did not witness either of the two ceremonies myself.

[9] Mr. Metz authorises this statement.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Ámundd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pátíriódu** (Hell) (from *pát*, leech; *éri*, place; *gés*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

Ámundd is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Ámundd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Ámundd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirát, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khásias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines*, &c.) says "pát, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-puru. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 248, story of Prithu and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khási Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

764 was an elderly relative of the dead woman, who, while watching the ceremonial, was placidly engaged in the manufacture of a holly walking-stick with the aid of a glass scraper. The proceedings were watched on behalf [648] of Government by a forest guard, and a police constable who, with marked affectation, held his handkerchief to his nose throughout the ceremonial. The corpse was decorated with brass rings, and within the putkūli were stowed jaggery, a scroll of paper adorned with cowry shells, snuff and tobacco, cocoanuts, biscuits, various kinds of grain, ghī, honey, and a tin-framed looking-glass. A long purse, containing a silver Japanese yen and an Arcot rupee of the East India Company, was tied up in the putkūli close to the feet. These preliminaries concluded, the corpse was hoisted up, and swung three times over the now burning pyre, above which a mimic bier, made of slender twigs, was held. The body was then stripped of its jewelry, and a lock of hair cut off by the daughter- [765] in-law for preservation, together with a fragment of the skull. I was told that, when the corpse is swung over [775] the pyre, the dead person goes to amnodr (the world of the dead). In this connection, Dr. Rivers writes that "it would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire; and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed, and are available for use another time. This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. [773] They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man [763] supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive, and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojo‡ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɪlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kaɪnɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orliɪ had married pɪlkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mör patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔn(ɪ)-koɪpoɪ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pats-ɔɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 330.

535 614 616 764 765 [533] 614 539 614 775 196 114 [576]

pɯrnɑ:ʊɯr,[22] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kɑjniɪr asked what it was he was told: il·ɬon-ɯji pɯɪrotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the pɯɪrotj-noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poɭjoɪɭ-ɹɯɪrʃojoɪɭ ʊɯd-mortk-fæɪdfoj-ɹɯɪrʃojoɪɭn pɯɪrotj-noɪj ysti; poɭjoɪɭ ɳoɪɳjti; oɪtoɪɭ ɹɯrsti' ɯdng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The pɯɪrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poɭjoɪɭ feel shame; the oɪtoɪɭ laugh.' " The word poɭjoɪɭ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɪɭ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poɭjoɪɭ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɪɭ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poɭjoɪɭ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poɭjoɪɭ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪkkj (cf. the verb noɳjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kɑɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

pukɪʊɯrʊoɪr	poɭjoɪɭ-ɳoɪkkj	oɪjxʊɯʊɯn
pæɪʊoɪr	oɪtoɪɭ-ɳoɪɳ	oɪjxʊɯʊɯn
	noɪɕoɪɭk-noɪkkj	oɪjxʊɯʊɯn
	sɪɪmjoɪɭk-ɐig	oɪjxʊɯʊɯn

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poɭjoɪɭ, the oɪtoɪɭ, the people of the country (noɪɕoɪɭ), the people of the district (sɪɪmjoɪɭ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poɭjoɪɭ and the oɪtoɪɭ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poɭjoɪɭ and oɪtoɪɭ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[22] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmukhsir; pp. 398–400); his account is in general incomplete.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these [616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly [837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – [582] which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of [835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I [123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their 584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be 584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, [775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a [588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, [766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is wide-178 spread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the bazaar and bought he a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins.

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erzigwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the *mad*. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine.

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the *Warthutthiarsh* (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying *mads*, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erzigwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan *modol*. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the *arsh*, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind.

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her *matchuni*,

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764 588 614 775 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground, with a further display of grief and lamentation.

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, 123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was 855 interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex- 159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 857 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of considerable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Närshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and